

Message Text

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TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, H. A.)

SUBJECT: MEDIA REPORT, THURSDAY MORNING, MARCH 20

NO. 36

FOR AMBASSADOR ANDERSON FROM S/PRS

SUMMARY: HAK MAY MEET GROMYKO SATURDAY IN VIENNA. ISRAELI CABINET MEETS THIRD TIME POSTPONING HAK'S DEPARTURE FOR ASWAN. GAP REPORTED STILL WIDE.GWERTZMAN, CARTER, BERGER, MILLS, LEVINE AND KALB REPORT VIET CRISIS HURTS HAK'S EFFORTS FOR ME AGREEMENT.

WIRES

1. AP, SCHWEID, JERUSALEM: HAK MAY MEET WITH GROMYKO SATURDAY TO REPORT ON HIS ME PEACE MISSION, AMERICAN OFFICIALS SAID TODAY.

MEETING WITH GROMYKO WOULD INDICATE HAK WAS MAKING SOME PROGRESS IN HIS EFFORTS TO REACH AN ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN AGREEMENT. OFFICIALS SAID PLANS FORMEETING WERE NOT DEFINITE YET, BUT SATURDAY "HAD BEEN SET ASIDE" FOR A UNCLASSIFIED

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POSSIBLE TRIP TO AUSTRIAN CAPITAL.

SEMI-OFFICIAL ISRAELI STATE RADIO REPORTED TODAY THAT ISRAELI CABINET HAD AGAIN REFUSED TO GIVE UP TWO STRATEGIC

MT. PASSES AND ABU RUDEIS OIL FIELD IN SINAI DESERT.

RADIO SAID CABINET MET FOR 10 HOURS WEDNESDAY AND DECIDED TO TELL HAK IT WAS STICKING BY ITS ORIGINAL OFFER TO WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS ON EGYPTIAN FRONT ONLY ABOUT 30 MORE MILES.

HOWEVER, INFLUENTIAL NEWSPAPER HAARETZ SAID ISRAEL HAD MADE A NEW PROPOSAL OFFERING TO RETURN OIL FIELD IN EXCHANGE FOR STRONGER NO-WAR COMMITMENT FROM EGYPT. BUT REPORTED PROPOSAL DID NOT INCLUDE RETURN OF GIDI AND MITLA PASSES... U. S. OFFICIALS SAID GAP BETWEEN ISRAELIS AND EGYPTIAN POSITIONS WAS STILL WIDE, AND NEW FEW DAYS COULD BE CRITICAL FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

2. UPI, JERUSALEM: ISRAELI CABINET MET UNEXPECTEDLY TODAY FOR THIRD TIME IN 24 HOURS TO CONSIDER PROPOSALS TO KEEP ALIVE HAK'S NEGOTIATIONS FOR A NEW AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT.

HAK TWICE POSTPONED HIS DEPARTURE FOR HIS FOURTH SHUTTLE TO ASWAN, TO SEE SADAT AND WAITED TO HEAR RESULTS OF NEW CABINET MEETING.

CABINET MET AFTER HAK SPENT MOST OF MORNING CONFERRING WITH RABIN AND ISRAELI NEGOTIATORS ON RESULTS OF A PREVIOUS MARATHON CABINET SESSION THAT ENDED AT 2 A.M. IN MORNING.

HAK CALLED THREE-HOUR MORNING SESSION WITH ISRAELI MINISTERS "GOOD, FRIENDLY AND CONSTRUCTIVE."

"I DO FEEL THAT EACH SIDE IS MAKING A VERY SERIOUS EFFORT TO TRY TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT CONSIDERATIONS OF OTHER AND THIS IS CERTAINLY TRUE OF ISRAELI SIDE," HE SAID UPON EMERGING FROM MEETING.

RADIO/TV

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1. JENNINGS, AMERICA ABC-TV: MOST OF REPORTING WE HAVE HEARD FROM YOU TED AND YOUR COLLEAGUES HAS BEEN RATHER PESSIMISTIC. IS THAT AN ACCURATE REFLECTION OF WHAT IS GOING ON, DO YOU THINK?

KOPPEL: PETER, IT'S AN ACCURATE REFLECTION OF PUBLIC DECLARATIONS THAT ARE BEING MADE ON BOTH SIDES AND TO A CERTAIN EXTENT WE ARE HEMMED IN BY THOSE PUBLIC DECLARATIONS. EGYPTIANS ARE BEING VERY TOUGH IN TERMS OF SAYING

THAT THEY CANNOT AND WILL NOT GIVE A PUBLIC WRITTEN DECLARATION OF NON-BELLIGERENCY FOR ANYTHING LESS THAN A TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES BACK TO 1967 LINES. ISRAELIS

ARE BEING EQUALLY TOUGH IN THEIR PUBLIC DECLARATION SAY-
ING THEY CANNOT AND WILL NOT RETURN THE MITLA AND GIDI
PASSES IN SINAI OR ABU RUDEIS OIL FIELDS FOR ANYTHING
LESS THAN PUBLIC DECLARATION OF NON-BELLIGERENCY.

JENNINGS: TED, ONE OF THINGS THAT IMPRESSES ME HERE IS
THAT DIPLOMATS HERE IN THIS TOWN IN CONTACT WITH ME SAY
THAT CABLES DO NOT REFLECT THAT PUBLIC PESSIMISM.

KOPPEL: THAT DOES NOT SURPRISE ME AT ALL BECAUSE
OBVIOUSLY, IN FINAL ANALYSIS HERE, THERE IS GOING TO HAVE
TO BE COMPROMISE ON BOTH SIDES AND I THINK WE ARE AT
CRITICAL JUNCTURE RIGHT NOW. ISRAELI CABINET EVEN AS WE
SPEAK IS IN SESSION. THEY ARE CONSIDERING FINAL POINTS
OF CLARIFICATION THAT THEY WOULD LIKE TO GIVE HAK TO TAKE
BACK TO ASWAN WITH HIM LATER THIS AFTERNOON. BY TIME
HE RETURNS TO ISRAEL TOMORROW EVE, HAVING TALKED TO SADAT,
HAK WILL EITHER KNOW THAT THIS MISSION IS GOING TO BE A
FAILURE, IN WHICH CASE HE PROBABLY WILL BE RETURNING TO
WASHINGTON SOMETIME THIS WEEKEND, OR THEY WILL BE GOING
INTO FINAL PHASE OF WORKING OUT SPECIFICS OF AN AGREEMENT.
MY GUESS AT THIS POINT PETER WOULD BE THAT IT WOULD BE
LATTER. HAK HAS NOT YET MADE HIS OWN SUGGESTIONS, HE
HAS NOT YET INJECTED HIS OWN IDEAS; I THINK HE IS ABOUT
TO DO THAT AND I STILL THINK COMPROMISE IS POSSIBLE.

2. KALB, CBS RADIO (FIRST LINE REPORT): BY NIGHTFALL,
TOMORROW AT LATEST, HAK WILL PROBABLY BE IN A POSITION
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TO JUDGE WHETHER HE HAS BROKEN BACK OF THIS NEGOTIATION
OR WHETHER IT HAS BROKEN BACK OF HIS EFFORT... IF A DEAL
IS IMMINENT IT IS BEING KEPT A SECRET EVEN FROM PEOPLE
WHO MUST MAKE IT, IN ADDITION TO PEOPLE WHO MUST REPORT IT.
HAK COMES THROUGH THESE DAYS AS A TROUBLED MAN. HE WANTS
AN AGREEMENT FOR REASONS SIMPLE TO FIGURE OUT AND NOT SO
SIMPLE. AN AGREEMENT IF ACHIEVED WOULD HEAD OFF ANOTHER
WAR IN ME. IT WOULD BREAK UP A BUILDING ANTI-ISRAEL
COALITION. IT WOULD EASE ENERGY CRISIS BY INSURING A
STEADY FLOW OF ARAB OIL; IT WOULD HELP AMERICA'S DIPLO-
MATIC POSITION IN THIS PART OF WORLD; IT WOULD RESTORE
SOME OF AMERICA'S LOST LUSTER. AND HERE IS WHERE NOT-SO-
SIMPLE REASONS COME IN.

HAK THINKS THAT AMERICA IS IN A BAD WAY, PHRASES SUCH AS
NATIONAL MASOCHISM, PARANOID NIGHTMARE, DEEP AMERICAN
ANGUISH A TRAGEDY. THESE AND OTHERS ARE HEARD IN HIS
AIRPLANE CABIN. VIETNAM, WATERGATE--HE THOUGHT THAT ONCE

AMERICAN PRISONERS AND TROOPS WERE WITHDRAWN FROM INDO-
CHINA, ONCE NIXON WAS DRIVEN FROM OFFICE, THESE NATIONAL
TRAUMAS WOULD PASS AND A NEW UPLIFTING PERIOD OF AMERICAN

HISTORY WOULD BEGIN. HAK MISREAD MOOD OF COUNTRY, NOT FOR FIRST TIME. FROM AFAR AND QUITE OFTEN THESE DAYS FROM ALOFT HE LOOKS OUT AND DOWN AT AMERICA, AND HE IS PROFOUNDLY DISTURBED. HE WONDERS WHETHER COUNTRY COULD BE LOSING SIGHT OF ESSENTIAL AND FOCUSING ONLY ON TRIVIA. TO HIM, ESSENTIAL IS HEADING OFF NUCLEAR WAR, OF BUILDING A POWER BALANCE AROUND WORLD. IN ALL THIS, STRENGTH AND STABILITY OF U. S. ARE CRITICAL. WHEN U. S. WAIVERS, WORLD WAIVERS AND TREMORS CAN BE FELT EVERYWHERE. PORTUGAL AT ONE END OF MEDITERRANEAN, TURKEY AT OTHER ARE BOTH IN TURMOIL. CAMBODIA COLLAPSING IN INDOCHINA, SVN NOW UNDER NEW MASSIVE COMMUNIST ATTACK. IN PART, HAK THINKS THIS IS CAUSED BY BREAKDOWN OF AMERICAN AUTHORITY, SIGNS OF A LOSS OF WILL POWER, AN EROSION OF COMMITMENT AFFECTING EVEN HIS NEGOTIATION IN ME. ASSAD OF SYRIA NOTES THAT AMERICA HAS LOST INTEREST IN CAMBODIA AND THEREFORE ISRAEL IS DOOMED. IN TIME, HESAYS, U.S. WILL LOSE INTEREST IN HER TOO. THAT IS HIS SOUND DOMINO THEORY AND IT BEARS A STRIKING RESEMBLANCE TO HAK'S. ISRAEL UNCLASSIFIED

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WORRIES ABOUT DOMINOES TOO BUT SHE DRAWS A DIFFERENT CONCLUSION FROM CAMBODIA. ISRAEL CONCLUDES THAT MAYBE SHE OUGHT TO DIG IN RATHER THAN DIG OUT AND UNLESS EGYPT CAN AGREE TO TURN A NEW LEAF IN ARAB-ISRAELI RELATIONS, AND END STATE OF WAR BETWEEN TWO SIDES, MAYBE THIS IS NOT TIME FOR A DEAL, MAYBE THIS IS TIME TO WAIT. THERE IS A WORLD OF WAR AND OPPORTUNITY RIDING ON OUTCOME OF THIS NEGOTIATION. NOW IN AN ODD WAY TEETERING ON RAZOR'S EDGE OF SUCCESS OR FAILURE. IT JUST DEPENDS ON WHICH WAY IT TIPS.

NEWSPAPERS

1. WASHPOST, BERGER, PAGE 24, RIYADH (FIRST OF TWO STORIES): HAK IS STRUGGLING TO NEGOTIATE NEW SETTLEMENT IN ME, FRAGILITY OF HIS EARLIER EFFORTS HALF A WORLD WAY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA ARE DEMONSTRATING HOW TRANSIENT HIS SUCCESSES CAN BE.

IMMINENT FALL OF CAMBODIA AND EVEN SVN, WHERE ONLY 2-1/2 HOURS AGO HE ANNOUNCED "PEACE IS AT HAND," ARE SAID TO BE RAISING NEW OBSTACLES IN CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS.

ISRAELIS ARE QUESTIONING VALUE OF ASSURANCES IN RETURN FOR TANGIBLE TERRITORY. ARABS ARE SAID TO BE QUESTIONING NEED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS WHEN AMERICAN AID TO ISRAEL MIGHT SOON BE DIMINISHED, JUST AS IT HAS BEEN IN CAMBODIA, AND SVN. HISTORY, SO THINKING GOES, WILL DO WORK OF ARABS FOR THEM.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN SVN, REPORTERS ABOARD HAK'S PLANE

WERE TOLD, IS THAT HANOI HAS PERCEIVED THAT U.S. IS NO LONGER CAPABLE OF INTERVENING...

AS NEGOTIATOR OF FRAGILE VN AGREEMENT, HAK'S EXPERTISE IS CLEARLY UNDERMINED. BUT A RATIONALIZATION HAS BEEN OFFERED FOR HIS POSITION. IF HE HAD THOUGHT IT POSSIBLE THAT CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT WOULD ERODE TO ITS CURRENT STATE, HAK ARGUMENT GOES, HE COULD NOT HAVE, IN GOOD CONSCIENCE, NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT.

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THAT, EVIDENTLY, IS ONE OF MAJOR REASONS WHY ISRAEL IS IS INSISTING ON "REAL MOVES" IN EXCHANGE FOR TERRITORY. FOR NO MATTER HOW GOOD INTENTIONS OR CONSCIENCE OF ANY OUTSIDERS, ISRAELIS SAY THAT IN LAST ANALYSIS THEY WILL HAVE TO DEPEND ON THEMSELVES.

...REPORTERS TRAVELING HERE WITH HAK ARE BEING TOLD THAT AMERICAN AUTHORITY IN WORLD IS BEING ERODED GENERALLY... REPORTERS WERE TOLD THAT U. S. WOULD ALSO BE OUT OF THAILAND IN NEAR FUTURE.

A NORTH VIETNAMESE DOCUMENT TO THIS EFFECT HAS LAID OUT STRATEGY, REPORTERS WERE TOLD AND FACT THAT NEW RECRUITS ARE BEING SENT SOUTH WITH ONLY ONE MONTH OF TRAINING SHOWS THAT STRATEGY IS BEING IMPLEMENTED.

2. WASHPOST, BERGER (SECOND STORY), RIYADH: HAK SOUGHT TO ALLAY CONCERN EXPRESSED IN SAUDI ARABIA ABOUT AN AMERICAN MILITARY TAKEOVER OF ITS OIL FIELDS.

BUT AT SAME TIME, HE DID NOT RETRACT A REMARK HE MADE IN JANUARY THAT TOUCHED OFF CONTROVERSY THAT HE WOULD NOT RULE OUT USE OF FORCE "WHERE THERE IS SOME ACTUAL STRANGULATION OF INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD." (EXCERPTS HAK'S RIYADH DEPARTURE STATEMENT AND YAMANI'S RESPONSE.)

...REPORTERS TRAVELING WITH HAK WERE TOLD THAT PRINCE FAHD HEIR APPARENT TO POWER, HAD EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN ABOUT AN ARTICLE THAT APPEARED IN MARCH ISSUE OF HARPER'S MAGAZINE, CALLING FOR AN AMERICAN TAKEOVER OF SAUDI OIL FIELDS, COMPLETE WITH LOGISTICS AND TACTICS ABOUT HOW IT COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED. ARTICLE WAS SIGNED BY NAME MILES IGNOTUS, DESCRIBED AS "A PSEUDONYM OF A WASHINGTON BASED PROFESSOR AND DEFENSE CONSULTANT WHO HAS INTIMATE LINKS TO HIGH LEVEL U. S. POLICY-MAKERS."

S. OFFICIAL SAID ACTUAL AUTHOR IS BELIEVED TO BE EDWARD LUTTWAK OF GEORGETOWN UNIV'S CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES. BUT LUTTWAK DENIES THIS AND SAYS IT WAS WRITTEN BY A U. S. MILITARY MAN.

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REPORTERS WERE TOLD THAT HAK HAD MADE IT CLEAR TO SAUDIS THAT ARTICLE WAS NOT GOVT INSPIRED.

U. S. AMBASSADOR IN SAUDI ARABI, JAMES AKINS, IN A SAUDI RADIO INTERVIEW LAST WEEK, HAD CALLED ARTICLES LIKE ONE IN HARPER'S PRODUCT OF "SICK MINDS". AKINS MADE NO REFERENCE TO EARLIER HAK STATEMENT...

3. WSJ, LEVINE, RIYADH: RAPIDLY DETERIORATING MILITARY SITUATION IN INDOCHINA IS WORRYING HAK AND THREATENING TO COMPLICATE FURTHER HIS ME PEACE EFFORT.

AS SECRETARY FLEW HERE, SENIOR U. S. OFFICIALS IN HAK PARTY EXPRESSED ALARM ABOUT MILITARY SETBACKS IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA. THEY CONTENDED THAT THESE REVERSALS COULD HURT U. S. FOREIGN POLICY, MOST IMMEDIATELY IN ME.

AT THIS POINT, HAK BELIEVES THAT PHNOM PENH IS LIKELY TO FALL SHORTLY AND THAT SITUATION IN SVN IS ALSO EXTREMELY GRIM.

SECRETARY THINKS THAT SAIGON GOVT CAN RETAIN CONTROL OF ONLY TWO OF FOUR MILITARY REGIONS IN COUNTRY--REGION THREE, WHICH INCLUDES SAIGON AND SURROUNDING AREA, AND REGION FOUR TO SOUTH, WHICH ENCOMPASSES RICH MEKONG DELTA. GOVT SHOULD ALSO BE ABLE TO HOLD ON TO SOME COASTAL ENCLAVES IN MORE NORTHERN AREAS, ACCORDING TO HAK ANALYSIS

U. S. OFFICIALS ARGUE THAT THERE IS LITTLE THAT CAN BE DONE AT THIS LATE DATE TO SALVAGE MILITARY SITUATION, THOUGH THEY STILL WANT CONGRESS TO VOTE ADDITIONAL AID MONEY THE FORD ADMINISTRATION HAS REQUESTED FOR CAMBODIA AND SVN. NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT ATTAINING A CEASE-FIRE ARE NOT FEASIBLE, THEY SAY, BECAUSE U. S. DOES NOT HAVE ANY BARGAINING CHIPS.

MAJOR COMMUNIST OFFENSIVE IN SVN, SENIOR U. S. OFFICIALS MAINTAIN, RESULTS FROM HANOI'S PERCEPTION THAT WASHINGTON IS NOT CAPABLE OF INTERVENING MILITARILY IN INDOCHINA AND THAT ADDITIONAL U. S. MILITARY AID IN SIGNIFICANT QUANTITIES IS UNLIKELY. ONE INDICATION OF LARGE SCALE OF

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NORTH VIETNAMESE PUSH IS THEIR DECISION TO SEND RECRUITS SOUTH AFTER ONLY ONE MONTH OF MILITARY TRAINING, U. S. OFFICIALS SAY.

A NOTE OF BITTERNESS IS CREEPING INTO VIETNAM CONVERSATIONS OF U. S. OFFICIALS ABOARD HAK'S PLANE. IF SVNMESE HAD RECEIVED ADEQUATE U. S. AID AND HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO HANDLE MILITARY SITUATION, THESE OFFICIALS SAY, THAT WOULD BE SAIGON'S FAULT. BUT GOVT'S CURRENT TROUBLES, THEY IMPLY, STEM MAINLY FROM INADEQUATE U. S. SWPPORT.

ALL THIS HAS DIRECT RELEVANCE TO ME NEGOTIATIONS BEING CONDUCTED BY HAK, OFFICIALS ASSERT. THEIR MAIN ARGUMENTS GO LIKE THIS: WHEN ISRAEL LOOKS AT U. S. PERFORMANCE IN INDOCHINA IT STARTS WONDERING ABOUT VALUE OF U. S. ASSURANCES OF SUPPORT. AS A RESULT, JERUSALEM IS LIKELY TO BE MORE RELUCTANT TO SURRENDER VALUABLE MILITARY TERRAIN IN SINAI--TO, IN EFFECT, TAKE CHANCES FOR PEACE.

AS FOR ARABS, THEY TOO WONDER ABOUT PERMANENCE OF U. S. COMMITMENTS TO ISRAEL IN VIEW OF WASHINGTON'S RELUCTANCE TO PROVIDE AID TO ITS INDOCHINA ALLIES IN CURRENT CRISIS. THIS, IN OPINION OF SOME U. S. EXPERTS, LESSENS PRESSURE ON THEM TO REACH NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS WITH ISRAEL. FOR IF TIME WEAKENS WASHINGTON-JERUSALEM BOND, ISRAEL WILL BE A MUCH LESS FORMIDABLE MILITARY FOE IN FUTURE....

4. NYTIME, PAGE 3, GWERTZMAN, RIYADH: A SENSE OF ALMOST FATALISTIC GLOOM SEEMED TO PERVADE HAK'S PARTY TODAY.

CAUSE MIGHT HAVE BEEN FATIGUE, SLOW PACE OF EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS OR BAD NEWS FROM WASHINGTON.

...REPORTERS ABOARD PLANE WERE GIVEN AN APPRAISAL OF OVER-ALL WORLD SITUATION THAT WAS MOST Pessimistic THEY HAD HEARD IN SOME TIME.

SOME OF COMMENTS WERE CLEARLY SELF-SERVING AND UNDERLINED HAK'S WELL-KNOWN CONCERNS ABOUT CONGRESS AND EROSION OF U. S. INFLUENCE ABROAD. BUT REPORTERS WERE INCLINED TO TAKE MOST OF THEM SERIOUSLY AS AT LEAST REFLECTING WHAT UNCLASSIFIED

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HAK AND HIS CLOSEST AIDES WERE THINKING....

UP TO NOW, MOOD OF GROUP ON THIS TRIP HAS GENERALLY BEEN RELAXED. QUESTIONS RAISED BY REPORTERS ABOUT CAMBODIA AND VIETNAM HAVE BEEN SHRUGGED OFF. WHETHER TODAY'S MOOD WAS A MORE TRUTHFUL REPRESENTATION OF HAK VIEW THAN NON-CHALANCE OF PAST TWO WEEKS IS DEBATABLE, BUT MOST REPORTERS ABOARD HIS PLANE DO NOT BELIEVE IT WAS CONTRIVED.

5. NY DAILY NEWS, CARTER PAGE 16 AND BALTIMORE SUN, MILLS, PAGE 2 STORIES REPORT HAK'S FEARS THAT INDOCHINA LOSSES MAKE PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS MORE DIFFICULT. INGERSOLL

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